

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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SUBJ: DOCTRINAL RESISTANCE TO BREZHNEV'S AGRARIAN PROPOSALS

REF: MOSCOW 3771

1. LEAD EDITORIAL IN KOMMUNIST, #16, CPSU THEORETICAL JOURNAL, SURVEYS ACHIEVEMENTS OF BREZHNEV REGIME SINCE OCTOBER 1964 PARTY PLENUM AND STRESSES COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AS GUARANTEE AGAINST UNILATERAL AND SUBJECTIVE DECISIONS. RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADING OFFICIALS IS UNDERLINED AND ATTEMPTS TO SHIFT BLAME FOR POOR WORK TO THE LEADING COLLECTIVE IS CONDEMNED. IMPORTANCE OF DECEMBER 1973 PLENUM IS EMPAHSIZED. AND BREZHNEV'S CRITICISM OF EXCESSIVE CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION STARTS IS REPEATED. EDITORIAL CLAIMS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THIS PROBLEM MUST BE OVERCOME IN 1975, BY WHICH TIME

TENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (FYP) WILL HAVE BEEN DRAFTED;
THIS FYP WILL BE DISCUSSED AT 25TH PARTY CONGRESS
AND WILL BE PART OF 15-YEAR PLAN ENDING IN 1990.

2. SIGNIFICANT PART OF EDITORIAL IS DEVOTED TO
AGRICULTURE, SPECIFICALLY BREZHNEV'S AGRARIAN POLICY
AS OUTLINED IN HIS ALMA-ATA SPEECH OF MARCH 15. HE
SPOKE OF PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES OF INTERKOLKHOZ AND
KOLKHOZ-SOVKHOZ ENTERPRISES WHICH HAVE BEEN OPERATING
IN MOLDAVIA, BELORUSSIA, THE UKRAINE, AND NORTHERN
CAUCASUS, AND OF AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES WHICH
COMBINE THE RESOURCES OF KOLKHOZES, SOVKHOZES,
AND STATE ENTERPRISES.

3. EDITORIAL THEN SPECIFICALLY CHARGES THE EXISTENCE
OF DOCTRINAL RESISTANCE TO THESE NEW FORMS OF MIXED
PROPERTY. "IN CONNECTION WITH THIS, CERTAIN ECONOMISTS
HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO TALK ABOUT THE EXISTENCE IN SOVIET
SOCIETY OF SOME SORT OF THIRD FORM OF PUBLIC PROPERTY
AND TO DEFINE ITS TITLE. EVIDENTLY, THE ENERGY OF
ECONOMISTS COULD WITH GREATER USEFULNESS BE
DIRECTED NOT TO THIS SORT OF 'RESEARCH' BUT TO STUDY
OF THE EXPERIENCE OF SUCH ASSOCIATIONS AND THE USE OF
EVERYTHING POSITIVE WHICH IT PROVIDES." THE EDITORIAL
THEN MAKES THE USUAL WARNINGS AGAINST HASTE OR LACK OF
PREPARATION BEFORE ACTING AND ALSO AGAINST INERTIA AND
DEPARTMENTAL AND PAROCHIAL ATTITUDES, BUT QUOTES
BREZHNEV ON THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS STEP
AS A BRINGING TOGETHER OF STATE AND KOLKHOZ PROPERTY.

4. LEST THERE BE ANY CONFUSION ON THE PART OF THE ELITE
AUDIENCE FOR THE KOMMUNIST EDITORIAL, THE FOUR CHIEF
CRITERIA SPELLED OUT BY BREZHNEV AT ALMA-ATA FOR
REORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT ARE REPEATED
(RETEL). THEN THE EDITORIAL RETURNS TO THE IDEOLOGICAL
PROBLEM. IT DENIES THAT THE INCREASED ROLE OF NATIONAL
PROPERTY WOULD RESULT IN THE DIMINUTION OF KOLKHOZ
PRODUCTION; INSTEAD THE FLOWERING OF THE TWO FORMS OF
PROPERTY PREPARES THE GROUNDS FOR THE FUTURE FORMATION
OF A SINGLE OR UNIFORM COMMUNIST PROPERTY.
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5. A FURTHER DIMENSION TO THE IDEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT IS
SUPPLIED BY VEHEMENT STRICTURES IN THE EDITORIAL AGAINST
THE DANGERS OF ARTIFICIALLY ACCELERATING SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT. LENIN IS QUOTED IN THIS CONTEXT AGAINST
"RUNNING AHEAD" AND BASING STRATEGY AND TACTICS ON
DESIRE RATHER THAN OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS. THE EDITORIAL
WARNS THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO "JUMP OVER" STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT,

TO FORCE THE RATE OF TRANSFORMATION
FROM SOCIALIST TO COMMUNIST ECONOMICS OR THE PREMATURE
LIQUIDATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORMS NEEDED AT
THE PRESENT STAGE INESCAPABLY SLOWS DOWN THE DEVELOP-
MENT OF PRODUCTION FORCES, ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND
THE RISE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

6. COMMENT: IT WAS ALREADY EVIDENT FROM THE LACK
OF RESPONSE TO BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS FOR REORGANIZATION
OF RURAL MANAGEMENT THAT SIGNIFICANT SECTORS
OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PARTY WERE, AT BEST, UNENTHUSIASTIC.
THE KOMMUNIST EDITORIAL PUTS THIS OPPOSITION WITHIN
AN IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK ALTHOUGH IT SEEMS REASONABLE
TO ASSUME THAT THE BUREAUCRATS THREATENED BY THE
REORGANIZATION WOULD OPPOSE IT ON THE GROUNDS OF
SURVIVAL. THERE APPEAR TO BE AT LEAST TWO GROUPS WHO
ARE QUESTIONING BREZHNEV'S CAUTIOUS INNOVATIONS ON
IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS: THOSE WHO OBJECT TO THE NEW
RURAL POLICY BECAUSE OF THEIR INABILITY TO AGREE ON
THE DOCTRINAL CONTOURS OF THE NEW MIXED FORM OF PROPERTY
AND THOSE WHO EVIDENTLY WANT TO MOVE FROM KOLKHOZES
TO STATE OWNERSHIP OF THE ENTIRE RURAL ECONOMY.
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